● 881

[For information on the čiéxaus or youth initiation ceremony, see category 116, pages 639-850.]

/431 cont./

302 694 If someone expects a visitor, he also decorates himself beforehand. If a visitor comes unexpectedly, however, the master of the hut does not reach for his painting material to decorate himself in the presence of his guest. He does this later on, returns the visit in the hut of the other, and in this way thanks him for the honor previously bestowed on him. Despite the closest kinship between individuals, it is a matter of principle never to omit such a declaration of love or honor, and they do not avoid the slight effort involved in facial /432/ painting, for example, just because of the cordial understanding that exists between close relatives. Everyone adheres very punctiliously to this duty.

In general it is regarded as reprehensible negligence, and almost contemptuous disrespect, for children to visit their parents in their hut, for Kina candidates to visit their sponsors in later years, and for young people to visit their older relatives and friends without having decorated themselves with a facial painting. This painting is meant to express the fact that the visitor bestows on the other the pleasure of his coming and that he is happy to be there. That is why the master of the hut sooner or later responds likewise with a facial painting to express his pleasure over the visit and his gratitude toward the guest.

We must call this decoration an actual duty which applies to all young and middle-aged persons without exception. Old women also conform to it, whereas old men become negligent. Although for visits any pattern of colors on the face is permissible and suffices, the natives nevertheless prefer two thin, parallel red lines beginning on either side of the nostrils and extending horizontally across the cheek to the ear. Among adults this facial painting has the same meaning everywhere.

302 694 281 Young people who visit their elderly relatives, children who visit their relatives, Kina candidates who visit their sponsors, and finally a lover who visits his intended wife, all these persons paint a few thin, straight red lines in the form of rays across the middle part of their cheeks. This decoration expresses heightened love and attachment. In accordance with this thoughtful custom, Kina candidates regularly appear in

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302 574 881 the hut of their sponsors with this decoration. They are especially close to their sponsors because the latter painted them with this decoration every day in the Great Hut of the initiation. Without exception it is the sponsor, in the role of a second mother, who, overjoyed by the visit of the child she sponsored, immediately wipes off his decoration and in its place draws the decoration of visitors mentioned above. Other people see this and are also happy, and in their satisfaction over the cordial understanding between the two, say: "That boy [that girl] was painted by his sponsor!" Not infrequently this woman goes to see the sponsored child in his hut. In order to announce to him and everyone in the vicinity how happy she is, she goes to him and paints the red perpendicular stripes on his cheek, as she did so often during the festival of the Cicxaus. Her action never fails to have a favorable effect on the neighbors.

302 574 609 The fact that our Yamana commonly used decorative painting when they paid visits is an adequate explanation of the many accounts from the period of the first European travelers, who constantly emphasize that the natives approached the foreign ships with an unusual and peculiar facial painting. Precisely because /433/ this was a duty familiar to them in their relations with their own people, they applied it to the white strangers also (113).

113. The experience of Reverend Despard (b):679 on his first journey in April, 1857, in Cinco-May Harbor will suffice as an example from more recent times: The natives "had painted their cheeks, some with red ocre, some with charcoal; one had white lines horizontally drawn across the nose and eyes; another had white dots, in three rows, on each cheek, and a single row down his nose; none were tattooed" /cited in English/. Compare Lovisato (b):147.

302 The Indians adhere still more strictly to their habit of decorating themselves for occasions other than visits, but these

/573 cont./

271 516 415 [illegible] cormorant is chosen for it. Some people wear this small tube in front on a braided sinew cord tied around the neck, just as the sponsor puts it on the uŝwĝala /candidate/ at the close of the initiation ceremonies. Most persons find it more convenient to suck water through this small tube because they squat comfortably in doing so and take in only a thin stream of the sometimes ice-cold water (340).

340. Hahn (c):337 illustrated a man in a squat position drinking through a tube from a brook. This drawing had the caption:

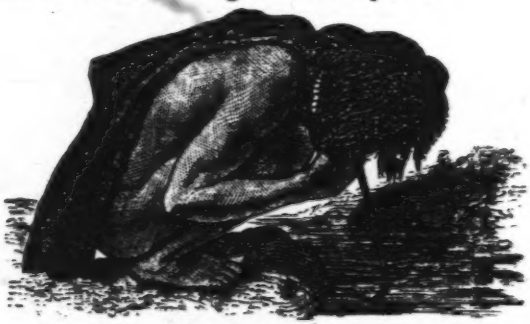

Fig. 69. The Use of the Sucking Tube.

"Choungoungounsis drinking at a stream with a pipe of bone" /translated from French/ (Fig. 69). Wieghardt:37 designates this article as "a kind of tube ready-made from a bone" /translated from Spanish/, and Martial: 194 as "a kind of small pipe made from the foot bone of a cormorant /translated from French/. In place of this bone tube they also, as Hyades (q):341 maintains, use "hollow rush stalks or those of other plants" /translated from French/, but that is only in exceptional cases.

271 415 /574/ I could not find out anything about special rules for the everyday use of this little tube, and there did not seem to be

/574 cont./

271 415 881 any. The candidates in the čiexaus, however, must use the tube each time, and toward the end of their probation they are instructed to go on using it. The little tube probably did not originate solely as a precaution against the cold water. It is also used in the hut when someone has brought in water in the large Voluta shell or in a leather pouch. This pouch is exactly like the one used by the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Figs. 71 and 72) and here as well as there is made out of the stiff leather of an old male seal. Other water dippers or containers that hold the contents as safely as does the Voluta shell are not used by the Yamana.

261 731 The Yamana, especially those in the border regions, are never at any time of the year safe from the threatening specter of hunger. It would be entirely incorrect to interpret the references of a few travelers to mean that misery overtakes the entire tribe more or less constantly (341). Famine actually cannot

341. The assertion of Outes (g):56 that "during the winter when the coasts become inaccessible, many victims of hunger perish" /translated from Spanish/ is inaccurate.

appear there as a general phenomenon; lack of food overtakes individual families only temporarily, that is, for a few days. The most common cause is such stormy weather with an angry sea for several days that a family cannot leave the place where they are in order to look for food elsewhere. When their few provisions are used up -- and that happens very quickly, since there is never a thought of stocking up -- trouble begins if all the sources on the spot are exhausted and calamitous natural forces put a stop to further travel. This fate will overtake a family, for example, who has fled to an island or been detained on a small island where birds do not alight and where the coast falls off abruptly. In most places on the Cape Horn Archipelago they find at least medium-sized and small mussels which are temporarily laid bare by low tide, even in bad weather. In some places they can make shift with fungi. "When bad weather lasts a long time, fishing becomes impossible and resources, always very small, are quickly exhausted; then they eat fungi which are found abundantly on beech trees" /translated from French/ (Martial:193).

/627 cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/630 cont./

584 are also established customs which apply to the actual marriage proposal and which set up certain limits as genuine barriers to marriage. A marriage among the Yamana never takes place without form and without rules, although in principle there is unlimited freedom in the choice of partners.

124 Our natives would like Europeans to know how much they value the responsible decision to enter the marriage union as an event, because it is significant for the tribal community. For this reason it is made known at least to the nearest fellow-tribesmen. On my third journey, the people wanted to show us the procedure of a wedding ceremony, but unfortunately the marriage plans of two young natives who had been fond of each other for a time finally fell through. I do not know of any European, missionaries possibly excepted, who personally witnessed the modest ceremony of a proposal /631/ and a wedding. Nevertheless, many presumptuous travelers gave their opinion of it. It is not worthwhile here to mention individual unreliable opinions. It is more important and, for several reasons, of special significance to describe here in detail existing customs of courtship and marriage.

1. The Marriageable Age

582 ●881 It never occurs to a Fuegian to count a person's age in years. Hence, they never set a definite age after which young people may marry. They presuppose, as an absolute condition, participation in the youth initiation, less because a certain age is thereby assumed, but rather because in that lengthy preparation the young man is trained in obtaining food and instructed in his behavior toward others, that is to say, he is educated to become a good and useful human being. First he must prove, as it were, his ability to lead an ordered, independent life and to work successfully economically before society agrees to his marriage. Most chaps were probably not spared attendance even a second time as actual candidates at the youth initiation, for only in this way did they obtain the right to take part in the men's ceremony. There was no similar condition connected with a second entrance

/631 cont./
582 of girls in the čiẽxaus ceremony.
881 Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

4. Hyades (f):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet menstruating, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl; perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Yamana.

required; this may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the čiẽxaus must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. It includes instruction in the mutual obligations of both partners. Alfredo once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married!" He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

864 By that time the marriageable young people are sufficiently
[581] enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to beget children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /632/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about intercourse itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the čiẽxaus are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration shortly

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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the ciexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

/736 cont./

861 is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

861 Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training
●881 process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves. True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, ʏiɛ́xaus, but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

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868 that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

Y. Results of the Training

183 Nelly once confessed to me: "Adults worked on a child long
861 enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Yamana have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, nevertheless, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat slovenly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth initiation has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

861 If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that
881 are obviously emphasized in the čiexaus, he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and steadfast patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Fuegians in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among those much despised Fuegians one would scarcely suspect as much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

/752 cont./

86| tireless self-education. Everyone has faults and deficiencies, which no one will deny and the work of those who train young people is admittedly sometimes difficult and painful, but the level of general morality is high and social virtues are abundantly practiced.

Finally we should not overlook the importance these simple people give to the living example. The elders have no illusions about the fact that the success of training presupposes the training of teachers. They avoid gross infractions and serious transgressions before the eyes of their children, for such mistakes /753/ would seriously undermine and thoroughly destroy what they have laboriously built up. At the same time they strive as much as possible to behave irreproachably and to assure themselves of praise as "good and industrious human beings," esteemed as admirable tribal members. Much sound wisdom about life is revealed to every outside observer who studies the educative work of our Fuegians without prejudice.

3. Girls during the Menarche

88| Parents continue training their own children until the first or second youth initiation, for children do not marry until directly after this experience. Only those children who show a certain mental maturity are admitted to the cíēxaus. By that time they are a few years beyond puberty. Hence, without exception, the girl's menarche comes before her entrance into the youth initiation. The former event seems so important to the society as a whole that it feels justified in subjecting the child to its own treatment, beyond the parental influence, for it is to the advantage of the whole tribe to have one more girl who has concluded her development. Hence the tribe decisively asserts its power and guarantees for itself this new member for the preservation of the people as a whole.

The habits and qualifications desired for a Yamana girl in connection with her first menstruation are interwoven without any trouble in the parental upbringing. For practical reasons we shall add to all this an account of how women conduct themselves during their monthly menses.

/754 cont./

145 it is greatly retarded by hardship and forwarded by plenty. Some are as well developed at 13 as others at 18 or even 19 years" /cited in English/. He (a):204 is certainly referring to this period, however, when he says that girls "from 13 to 14 years of age were instructed by their aunts, after which they could marry" /translated from Spanish/.

881 The mother forewarns her daughter out of precautionary solicitude: "Soon you will feel very unwell and there will also be bleeding in an unusual place. Do not worry, and tell me about it!" Thus the girl is prepared. As soon as the first indications of menstruation appear, the girl tells an older sister or a woman close to her, an aunt or grandmother, who brings it to the attention of the girl's mother and women neighbors. The girl seldom tells her own mother; "she is ashamed!" I was told. The bleeding itself is called wélix, according to BD:605; and tú·ɣi, tú·ɣikipa is the name for the girls themselves during these days. Throughout, they have almost no physical discomfort. Hahn (f):572 agrees: "...this function is easily established, although the natives combine a few days of fasting with the first menstruation" /translated from French/.

At the same time various significant restrictions begin for these tú·ɣikipa. Free play and carefree wandering cease, and the girl must remain close to the hut. She must either sit by the fire or perform various kinds of work. The more she moves and stirs about in doing this, the better. Primarily she must help and substitute for her own mother in the daily work, but she must also fetch water and wood for other women. Again and again she is specifically requested to do these services and is sent to the neighboring huts. If there is nothing left to be done, she must crouch quietly on the floor in the parental hut, be as motionless as possible, refrain from inquisitively looking about, and practice silence. The night's sleep is considerably shortened and early rising absolutely demanded. The tú·ɣikipa is anxiously and solicitously watched, cared for, instructed, and admonished by other women. Occasionally a woman will invite her to join her at her daily tasks. They go out together to draw water, pick up

/754 cont./

881 wood, gather mussels, pick berries, etc. In all this the girl is willing and eager and behaves very submissively and quietly. Her whole expression shows gravity and inner concentration. The girl also clearly shows these traits when she performs work at one of the neighboring huts. She keeps her eyes cast down and moves as though she were afraid and intimidated. She may not look at the moon or stars, nor at the sun and rainbow, much less adopt a comfortable or negligent attitude.

/755/ Once I was standing with Nelly when Adelheid passed by. She was completely preoccupied, her head bowed; she was looking at the ground with half-closed eyes and moving forward almost furtively. Nelly carefully pointed to her attitude and said softly: "This is the way every tu'rikipa behaves!" She is supposed to preserve the same retiring attitude and a quiet withdrawal until her first child appears; at any rate it is expected of her just before her first confinement. After she has given life to her first-born, she may be somewhat freer in her ways and talk happily and animatedly.

881 As may be expected of our Yamana, they require the girl to fast strictly upon this occasion. Originally she was given 262 nothing to eat or drink during the first three days; not until the fourth day was she given a total of three mussels and a little water at intervals. Since most girls, however, begin to feel weak before the end of this time, they are immediately given a few mussels or something else to eat, but always only good things and better pieces, since ordinary things would be physically harmful to them. With the sixth day the food and drink restrictions are in part removed. Before the end of this period, on the eighth or tenth day, the girl must bathe and wash in sea water; then she is given a piece of guanaco meat, if there is any in the camp. If she had not taken her bath before eating this piece of meat, the dog that tracked down the guanaco would forever lose its scent and would henceforth not be able to find other guanacos. The tu'rikipa is forbidden to kill any animal. If there is an opportunity to do it, namely, at the time young birds take flight, she gives the animals she has caught to a man who kills them

/755 cont./
881 for her (191).
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191. In Hahn (a):804 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless she is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from certain foods" /translated from French/.

881 In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or
[773] nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a tú'ikipa sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few berries. Soon a strong lakúma /water spirit/ came along, seized this tú'ikipa, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

881 The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the
867 tú'ikipa as more significant than the above-mentioned restrictions. In connection with this I learned from Nelly and Mary that the tú'ikipa is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtues willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 411). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earliest childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 392). Every tú'ikipa has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here; we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Nelly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

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"If someone enters your hut, he will sit down beside the fire. If he wants to eat a few mussels, do not refuse to give them to him, but offer them willingly."

"You must not fuss and scold, grumble and find fault when you are in your hut or in front of it. It is not seemly for a woman constantly to shriek and give vent to her anger."

"If an old man asks you for fire or wood or water, give him what he needs immediately and gladly. Venerate old people, do not laugh at them."

"If a blind man comes along, take him into your hut willingly and give him something to eat."

"If you hear something bad and unfavorable about another woman, do not immediately tell it to someone else; that kind of gossip about others breeds discord. You don't like it either if others talk about you contemptuously and negatively behind your back. If you repeat all the gossip you hear, other women will avoid you and among themselves they will say of you: 'That one is a gossipy woman!'"

"Always be true to your husband; defend him when others find fault with him and wish him ill."

"Soon you will have a husband. If he should transgress and secretly go after another woman, do not imitate him; do not believe that you may now take up with another man. Never forget: you are a woman, he is a man (192)! Soon he will be convinced

192. I was told that when a man takes liberties in this respect, his mistakes are generally less seriously condemned than if a woman permits herself the same transgressions. One expects a woman to be faithful under all circumstances, even in the face of her husband's violations.

that you are faithful to him nevertheless [in spite of his delinquencies]. Then he will realize his guilt and leave that other woman so as to belong wholly to you."

"Always be busy and industrious. Keep your things and your implements in good order."

"Take care of your children, then you will experience much joy with them."

/756 cont./

"Gossiping at the home of other people and chattering a lot in the hut create /757/ agitation and even start quarrels. Be quiet and reticent in speech. Too many words only cause mischief as a rule."

"You will now experience the wéllx [the appearance of menstruation] with every moon. Be particularly active and industrious at that time, eat little and always only the good things. Think always of what we have taught you and of how you conducted yourself when you were ti'tkipa!"

Every woman who feels it is necessary repeats this advice to the girl, always along similar lines. The mother herself tells her how she must dab the blood with small bundles of tíllel /Berberis shavings/ which she must immediately burn, so that the men and children will never see them. /Fig. 79 appears here./

During these days the ti'tkipa is also obliged to wear a special facial painting, consisting of fine red lines placed close together, drawn from below the eyes down over both cheeks (Fig. 79). For this purpose ímí /red pigment/ is used, mixed with fish oil and applied with a thin stick.

Fig. 79. Facial Painting during the Menarche.

The conclusion of all the observances and requirements on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation is the so-called "big meal" for all those present. It is called ti'tkipa tatu (193), "the big meal of the girl who has

193. BD-423 also gives "tatu: to distribute a lot of mussels to all people around" /typed in English/.

reached maturity." It is like a public banquet, to which the girl personally invites all tribal members. It is her duty to gather many mussels and crabs, berries, and birds' eggs; the other people contribute the meat of sea lions and birds, as well as a great many fish. Then in a gay mood they all sit around the quantities of food and enjoy themselves. They remain together a whole day, and the ti'tkipa must serve each of them again and again or encourage

/737 cont./

§21 §74 them to eat. Then all the participants disperse and tell everyone: "That girl gave us good things to eat, fish, mussels, and other things!" They are referring to the *dipuiga* taro, and everyone who hears about it interprets the words in this way. Now everyone knows that the girl has reached physical maturity.

β. Women during the Menses

§41 An account of how a woman conducts herself during her monthly bleeding, *dipuna*, is inserted here. The *dipuiga* has already been told that "this occurrence will be repeated with each moon." It scarcely causes a woman /738/ any noticeable discomfort. Just as during the first menstruation, every woman blows up the blood with a small bunch of *fibi* and burns it inconspicuously in the hot fire.

Abstention from certain foods is not exactly demanded, but the woman is supposed to choose better pieces for herself. "Six only these are good for her!" She must practice temperance and withdrawal, be silent and yet very active. All this is not so strictly demanded of her as of a *dipuiga*, but a woman cannot take it too lightly, because this would have a bad effect on her children. Everyone knows exactly what is demanded by tribal custom, hence the individual more or less conscientiously and faithfully fulfills this obligation (196).

196. Hahn's (p.)804 opinion is not very accurate: "Subsequent menstrual periods do not give rise to any particular practices and do not prevent sexual relations" /translated from French/.

γ. Interpretation of Menstruation

The fact that Lela's menstruation began during my second sojourn in Beagle Channel (p. 360) made it not only possible for me to get most of the above details, but also put me on the trail of the mythological interpretation of the menses as the Tamana tell it.

/T28 cont./

On that particular day old Albedo had been given a sip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Pointe Rotonde, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the taro beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lola is acting so gravely and does not look at me at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he assured me: "It is all because she is now ripe!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he assured me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crouching around the fire in Albedo's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gradually he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat milder remark he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told the familiar story of how the first menstruation was introduced by the eldest Tyaloo.

The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this bleeding Tyaloo has been regarded as the husband of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites anew with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up each time bleeding begins to free herself each time from Tyaloo. /T55/ How consistently the Tahitians regard the relationship of every woman to Tyaloo as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say to older women, Tyaloo tamaiira, is the sister-in-law of all women.

The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her initiation. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. It is not until the Taloogo that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Tyaloo. As a rule the purpose of the initiation does this, but the female candidates almost always receive the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who sponsors her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the Taloogo, we candidates had to

/780 cont./

get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their names. He also showed us the Yáhlis family, saying: "The older Yáhlis is the husband of every girl who has become ripe; he causes the bleeding after every moon[-cycle]!" He also impressed upon us: "Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!"

The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, while. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yáhlis in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children seem show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /780/ mute, but there is no wild noise and senseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 920) and adults.

/803 cont./

554 571 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 881 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony, the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 626 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

/1311 cont./

823 There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/.
[133] It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. In the Yamana language there are several expressions
777 which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (k):240, BD:42 gives, for example, istauwălux, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 95 appears here./

/1312/ E. The Kina Celebration

The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Fuegians is outwardly expressed by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the čiéxaxa is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p.842). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

1: Gusinde--1452 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

•881
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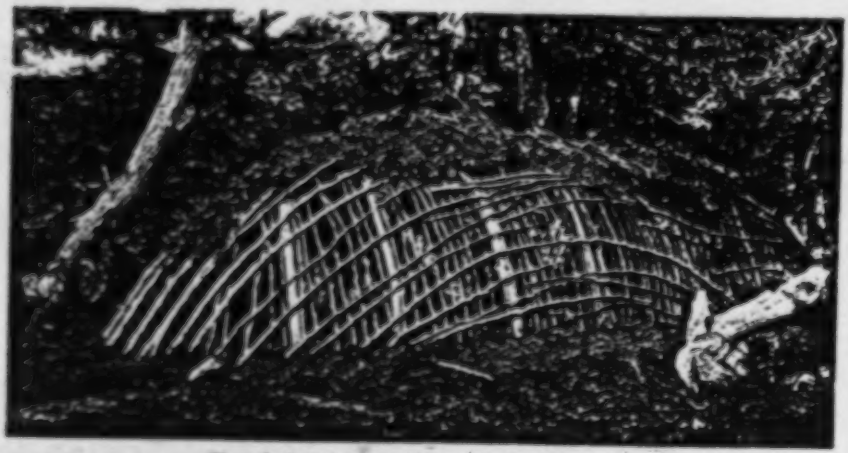
Watchmen in Action

Youth Initiation Hut, Interior



Youth Initiation Hut, Exterior

302
881

Ciexaus Painting

Watchman

Watchman's Assistant

1:Gusinde--1453 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881
302
142

Čiexaus Participants, 1920

Čiexaus Participants, 1922

Yékamuš Aspirant

Čiexaus Painting

Gusinde with his Sponsors

Yékamuš

586 second wife. Desertion was more frequent on the man's part than on the woman's.

888 The aged were, according to all dependable evidence, usually respected, well treated, and well cared for. Neither abandonment or killing of the aged was ordinarily practiced but may have occurred in exceptional cases.

621 Political life.—Over and above the biological family there was no closely organized larger group or constituted authority. There were no sibs, secret or other societies, or social classes, and no chiefs or ruling group or caste of any kind. Each biological family was for most practical purposes a sovereign political unit. The sense of individual independence was deep. No man took or brooked orders
555 or dictation from any other. However, aggressive individuals of personal force and strength, especially if they had powerful kin backing, at times dominated. Older men of recognized intelligence and integrity exercised considerable moral influence.

612 The next group to the biological family was the kinship group, mostly a paternal one. The members gave mutual aid where called for, particularly in feuds and in blood-revenge activities. The kinship group, owing to common patrilocal residence, was partly, but not fully localized.

619 The five regional divisions of the *Yahgan*, each with its distinctive dialect, had very slight political significance. Members of one division were usually chary of trespassing, at least for long, upon the territory of any other division, unless there were a recognized good cause, such as grave shortage of food, partaking of a stranded whale, trading, gathering canoe bark or fire-making materials.

621 Each of the five dialectic regions was broken up into local groups, each of which appears to have been composed, mostly at least, of members related by blood or marriage (Koppers, 1926 b, p. 5). Each such local group had its own territory—that of Ushuaia, for instance, occupied 20 miles (32 km.) of coast line on Beagle Channel—and its own name derived from its locality. Like the dialectic groups,
[622] these local groups had no chiefs. The local group's chief function was that of holding the čiéxaus initiation rite. The leader chosen
[881] therefor had authority only so long as the rite lasted. As the čiéxaus rite was an educational device contributing greatly to social conformity and solidarity, the local group's political function was chiefly an indirect pedagogical one. Loyalty to fellow members of a local group existed, but was not as strong as that to one's own kinship group.

628 There was no organized process of judicial procedure. In case
[628] of murder, the victim's kin took blood revenge on the murderer or his kin, or settled with him or them by composition. At times such kinship feuds led to a sort of pitched battle, in which slings,

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [852] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [551] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peaceableness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, and other elders, as the will of Watauinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetāita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching-stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

884 Only those who had gone through the čiéxaus rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yoûlox brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), whith was often held just after the čiéxaus.

876 **Death and burial.**—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, gashing of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Watauinéwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, hurled complaints at Watauinéwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with paddles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen-midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

915 **Future life.**—The koshpik (késpix), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

death of a relative. All these called for vengeance, but the Yahgan seem to have felt antipathy rather than hatred, so vengeance might be deferred for several years, during which time mutual friends might compose the quarrel.

Blood loyalty was recognized among the Yahgan, but apparently was not fiercely cherished as among the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges states that when a murder occurred the friends and relatives of the victim would take revenge, but the family of the murderer abandoned him and made no effort to defend him. This certainly is not customary among primitive people with a highly developed consciousness of consanguinity like the Yahgan, and perhaps Mr. Bridges' statement represents the result of missionary contact rather than the original state of affairs.

Organized warfare, during which any member of one group would kill at sight any member of another group, as among the Ona, was unknown to the Yahgan, but blood revenge was sometimes executed on a relative of a murderer.

Initiation

Thanks to the studies of Gusinde and Koppers full and complete information about the Yahgan initiation rites is available, and the reader desirous of fuller information than is given here is referred to their various publications on this subject listed in the bibliography. Two ceremonies were in use among the Yahgan, known as *shiehâus* and *kina*. The first of these, celebrated by both sexes, apparently is the ancient Yahgan rite, while the other corresponds closely to the Ona *klókten* ceremony and represents culture borrowing from that tribe. Both may be described as a systematic educational course for the youth of the tribe—"going to school," the Yahgan called them.

For the *shiehâus* ceremony a large domed hut (*mánaga*), elliptical in outline, was erected near the encampment. The framework was of split saplings an inch or two in diameter, bent and set up to form arch-like ribs, and secured in place by a few horizontal beams (pl. XIV). These timbers were held together by lashings of gut. At either end of the hut were doors, one large to admit spectators, one small for the use of the candidates. On the roof they piled branches of the evergreen antarctic beech to afford shelter to those within, but the sides were left open to the weather. Rows of logs staked in place on the floor divided it into a central gangway

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

346 flanked by benches, built up by branches covered with skins. In the middle of the gangway burned a fire.

The house we have described was the type used by the central and western Yahgan. Our illustrations show the lodge erected in

[881 292 293]

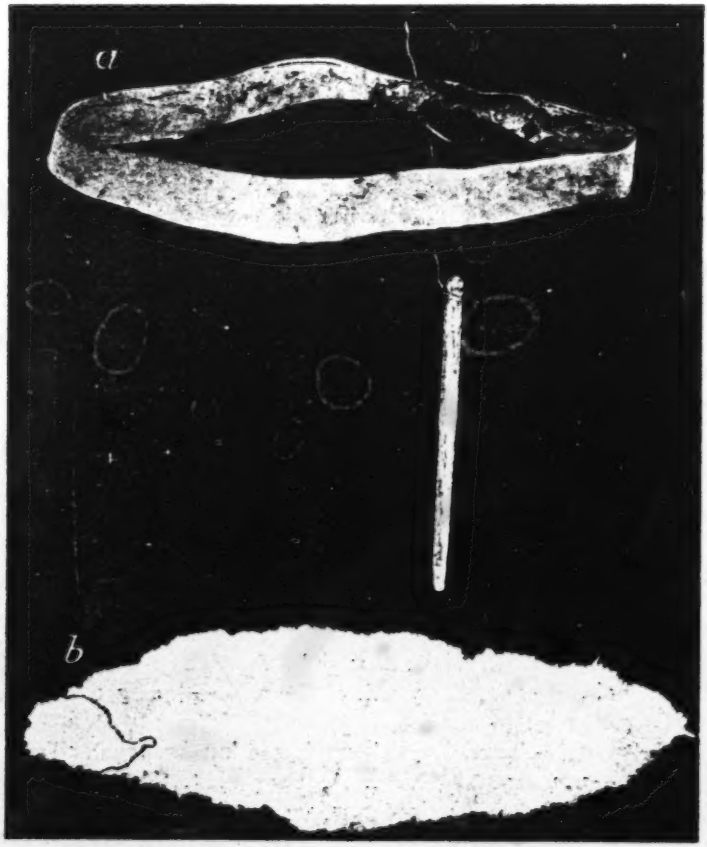


FIG. 90.—*a*, Eastern Yahgan initiate's headband and scratching-stick (14/2361); length of stick, 5 in. *b*, Kelp-goose down headband (14/2344); length, 19 in.

1922 at the instance of Gusinde and Koppers on Navarin island. The eastern Yahgan, I was informed, did not use a domed hut for this rite, but a pointed conical wigwam like that seen among the Ona (fig. 38).

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 The oldest and most experienced of the men present assembled before the ceremony and agreed on the time and manner in which it was to be conducted. From their number they chose one who was both respected and well liked to be the master of ceremonies. Another they selected as the official instructor of the candidates, while others they designated "policemen." Their duties were to assemble the candidates in the lodge—*by force if necessary*—to see that they were submissive at all times, to sit on the roof during the ceremony and ward off any threat from without, and to communicate with the cook-house when necessary. Finally each candidate had three godparents, two of his own and one of the opposite sex. Their part was to see that the candidates fulfilled all the ritual properly and to help them as much as possible, for it was to the credit of the godparents if their adopted children did well. In addition to the candidates and the officials, most of the grown people came to celebrate the ceremony. Places were taken in family groups, while the initiates sat with their godparents. All sat with their legs crossed under them and with arms akimbo, thereby taking up as little room as possible so that a large number might receive the warmth of the central fire.

For the first three days of the initiation, candidates maintained a strict fast, for their allowance of food was only from three to five mussels a day. Their water supply also was limited and had to be consumed through a hollow bird-bone. At night they were forced to maintain their cross-legged position, with the exception of four to six hours when they were allowed to sleep. If they relaxed at any other time they were pushed back into position by the older people and perhaps beaten for their lapse.

During the day the initiates received instruction in the art of making a living. The men instructed the boys in the methods of hunting, how to make tools and weapons, how to build canoes and houses, etc. Similarly the women taught the girls how to gather mussels and fungi, how to make baskets, buckets, and necklaces, how to rear children, etc.

At nightfall all the candidates were taken to the beach and forced to bathe in the icy water of the ocean. After the first bath the boys received a sort of tattooing on their chests, consisting of three lines of scratches into which they rubbed red paint. This was not real tattooing, because the cuts were not deep enough to retain the color permanently.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The greater part of the *shiehdus* ceremony was filled with singing and dancing. By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the *Yetaite*, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralize the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly or the *Yetaite* would seize them. Sometimes the *Yetaite* actually appeared —a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real *Yetaite* was much worse than what they had seen.

The master of ceremonies usually was the leader in the singing, though sometimes this duty was assigned to another old man. The dances, which usually came late at night, were named for certain animals. Both the melody and the movements suggested characteristic peculiarities of this animal.

The moral instruction of the candidates they divided between the godparents and the official teacher, at whose feet the initiates had to sit from time to time. They were taught to be altruistic in thought and conduct, and to exhibit the virtues of hospitality and generosity. Respect for the aged was inculcated, for all must grow old in time. The boys they taught to be peaceful and not to make enemies, to treat women with respect, to help the young and the blind. The girls they told to rise early in the morning to get their water and wood, to care faithfully for their husbands and children, not to fuss about trifles, nor to repeat gossip. Behind these instructions stood a certain amount of religious sanction, for the evil *Yetaite* threatened them, while the supreme *Watauineuu* observed their every action. This moral code set a standard for the tribe to which in practice they did not adhere too rigidly.

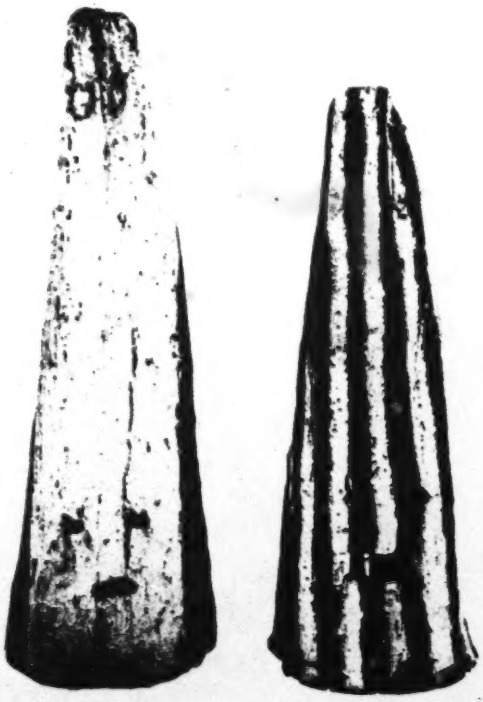
After some days of instruction the ceremony came to a close. At a given hour the candidates assembled behind a curtain at one end of the hut. One by one they were called forth with the master of ceremonies dancing beside them and were ceremonially surrendered to their godparents and therewith accepted as members of the tribe. The godfather gave his child three gifts: a finely woven *gaifchim* basket adorned with feathers, a bird-bone like the one used to drink with, and a scratching-stick.

In the final hours of the last evening the women took charge under the leadership of an old woman. She and the other women

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shiehâus* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.



a *b*

FIG. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shiehâus*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kina* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *klókten*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Yahgan SH6

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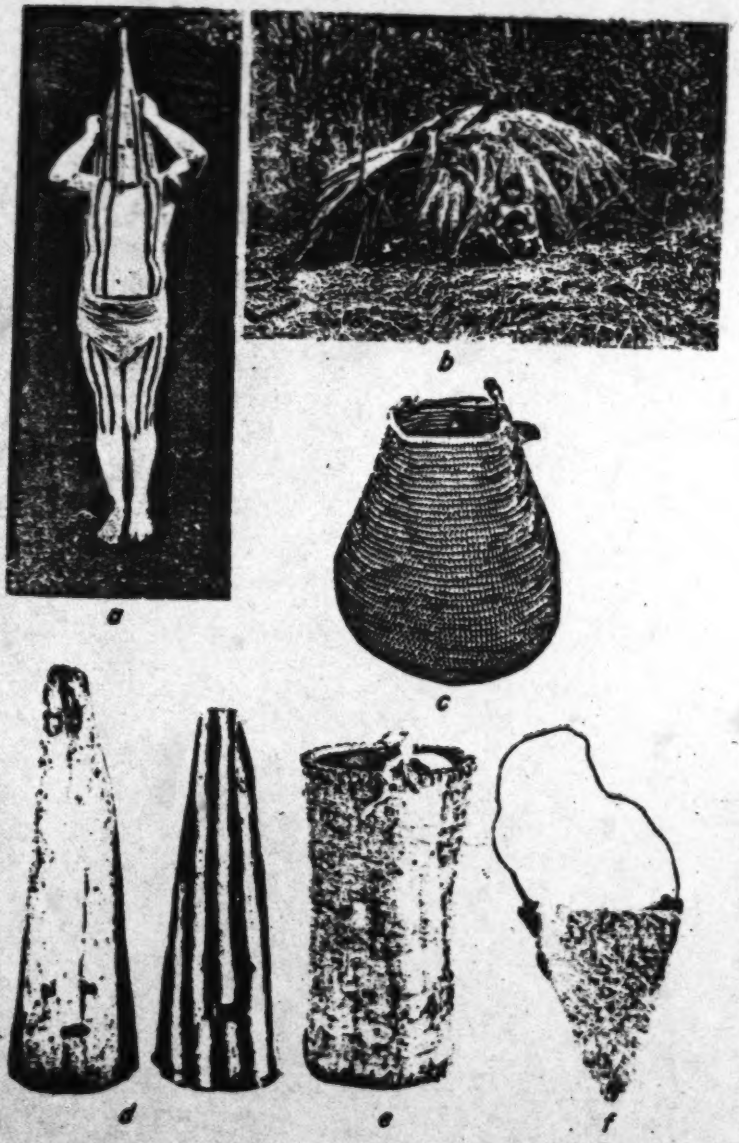

PLATE 22.—Tehuelche life and manufactures. a, Masked Klina spirit (after Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 4); b, domed hut (after Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 30); c, coiled basket (courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires); d, bark masks used in Klina rite, height of taller 27 in., or 68.5 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 92); e, bark bucket, height 13½ in., or 31.7 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 55); f, pubic covering, width 9 in., or 23 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44).

[p. 160 A]